

There's No Place like "Home": Mining the Theoretical Terrain of Black Women's Studies, Black Queer Studies and Black Studies

by

Kaila Adia Story, Ph.D.

Women's and Gender Studies & Pan-African Studies Departments
University of Louisville, Louisville, KY

Kaila Adia Story (kastor03@louisville.edu) is an assistant professor and currently holds the Audre Lorde Chair in Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in the Departments of Women's & Gender Studies & Pan-African Studies at the University of Louisville. Her dissertation entitled: *The Possessive Investment in Consumption: The Projected Image and Invention of the Black Feminine Body* utilized discourse analysis to deconstruct (European) Western sciences, cultural imagery, popular media and discourse, as it related to the examination of four separate but related figures—"the Hottentot Venus"-Sara Baartman, "The Black Venus"-Josephine Baker, "The Video Vixen", and "The Black *Queer* and *Sanitized* Drag Queen. Dr. Story has taught courses such as Black Lesbian Lives, Introduction to LGBTQ Studies, Introduction to Black Women's Studies, The Black Women, Mass Media and the Black Community, Gay & Lesbian Lives, Introduction to African American Studies, and Introduction to Africana Studies. Her essay "Performing Venus: From Hottentot to Video Vixen: The Historical Legacy of Black Female Body Commodification, which is a small portion of her dissertation is published as a chapter in the anthology *Home Girls Make Some Noise: Hip Hop & Feminism* edited by Aisha S. Durham, Elaine Richardson, Rachel Raimist and Gwendolyn Pough. Kaila holds a BA in Women's Studies from DePaul University, and an MA and PhD in African American Studies from Temple University.

Abstract

The sociopolitical heterogeneities of Black Studies as a discipline have historically and presently engendered various alternative disciplines where its "former" members have sought ideological solace and theoretical reflection. The historical dialectic of Black Women's Studies and the newly emergent dialogue of Black Queer Studies seek to provide their inhabitants with the specificities of liberation that Black Studies does not make transparent in its various theoretical schools of thought. Although Black Studies has disrupted dominant and hegemonic discourses surrounding race and identity its aim at forging a unified front has left many Black Studies theorists to disavow their allegiance and membership to the discipline.

The theoretical erasure of Black women and the abject positioning of many Black gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer identified scholars in Black Studies has necessitated new disciplines to shape and expand the theoretical and ideological perception of Black phenomena. However, the establishment of alternative disciplines and/or ideologically segregated spaces for Black scholars and students to engage in Black liberatory thought leaves no room for Black Studies, (as still a newly forming discipline itself), to grow as a viable and necessary discipline for all Black liberation. This essay seeks to elaborate on the historical conversations of Black Women's Studies and to highlight the newly emergent dialogue of Black Queer Studies to initiate dialectic between the three disciplines in the interest of expanding Black Studies as the ideological and metaphorical "home" of Black liberatory phenomena.

"At the turn of the century, DuBois initiated and carried out his research both in Philadelphia and Atlanta with the expressed purpose and intent of documenting life and culture, thereby improving the life and culture of African Americans. By following his lead and bringing rigorous academic analyses and description to the discipline, scholars will continue to create new models of inquiry, examination, and evaluation useful to all disciplines".

--Nathaniel Norment Jr., *The African American Studies Reader*, 2001, xxxiii

"Black Studies," "Afro American Studies," "Pan-African Studies," and "African American Studies," programs and departments have been met with challenges and ideological unrest since their emergence in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Responsible for disrupting dominant and hegemonic discourses surrounding race, identity, and white supremacy; as well as mining the political and theoretical terrain of empire, neo colonialism, and Black agency within the Western hemisphere, Black Studies has created a discipline within white towers of academic pursuit that challenged the way in which white academicians conceived of and defined knowledge. "The Civil Rights and Black Power movements of this period provided the historical backdrop and social street scene"¹ for Black Studies as a discipline to form, consequently, "the political and rhetorical strategies of the larger race and rights movement were deployed by intellectual and cultural activists demanding institutional support for the formation of [Black Studies]."²

Regrettably, Black Studies' aim at forging a unified front for Black academicians, intellectuals, and activists alike, simultaneously created an environment of hostility and invisibility for many Black women and Black Queer identified³ scholars in the discipline. "Black women's institutional work as well as their intellectual interventions in black studies departments remained understudied, devalued, or marginalized by the reigning black male theorists who decided "race" to be the proper sphere of study."⁴ This discursive maneuvering left many women in Black Studies disillusioned and isolated, inevitably creating the ideological space for the seedlings of Black Women's Studies as a separate discipline to be planted.

The abject positioning of Queer identified Black Studies theorists within the discipline has engendered a similar impasse in Black Studies. The Black Queer Studies movement has been on the rise as an intellectual and existential attendant to the Black Women's Studies movement for years, and most recently has garnered more ideological "currency in the academic marketplace."⁵

Both Black Queer Studies and Black Women's Studies as disciplines are prepared and have "the potential to transform how we theorize sexuality [and gender] in conjunction with other identity formations,"⁶ namely "Blackness". However, the establishment of these alternative disciplines and/or ideologically segregated spaces for Black scholars and students leaves no room for Black Studies, (as still a newly forming discipline itself), to grow as a viable and necessary discipline for all Black liberation. This five part article seeks to elaborate on the historical conversations of Black Women's Studies and to highlight the newly emergent dialogue of Black Queer Studies to initiate dialectic between the three disciplines in the interest of expanding Black Studies as the ideological and metaphorical "home" of Black libratory phenomena.

PART ONE: NEW HOUSE~ SAME WALLS: BLACK LIBERATION AND MISOGYNY

After 1965, Black women faced an ongoing battle with sexism within Black Civil Rights organizations. With the publication of the Moynihan Report, and the growing Black Nationalist movement, Black women underwent an onslaught of sexism at the hands of many prominent Black male figureheads. Maulana Karenga, one of the most influential advocates for African cultural and intellectual traditions and the founder of Kwanzaa (a cultural holiday) also found himself endorsing extremely reductive patriarchal roles for Black women.

"What makes a woman appealing is femininity and she can't be feminine without being submissive. A man has to be leader...There is no virtue in interdependence. Black women...should remember this. The role of the woman is to inspire her man, educate their children and participate in social development...We say male supremacy is based on three things: tradition, acceptance, and reason. Equality is false; it's the devil's concept. Our concept is complementary."⁷

Not alone in his idea of “complementary subservience” for Black women, Karenga was joined by another strong Black male voice, Amiri Baraka. In his essay *Black Woman*, (originally published as “Nation Building” in the *Black World*), which was reprinted in his book *Raise, Race Rays Raze: Essays Since 1965*, Baraka contends:

“...We do not believe in equality of men and women...we could never be equals...nature has not provided this...we will complement each other...there is no house without a man and his wife...When we say complement, completes, we mean that we have certain functions which are more natural to us, and you have certain graces that are yours alone. We say that a Black woman must first be able to inspire her man, and then she must be able to teach our children, and contribute to the social development of the nation.”⁸

Baraka and Karenga were not the only ones who insisted that Black women take a complementary role to their Black men. The Sisters of the (B.C.D) reiterated Baraka and Karenga sentiments in a seven section pamphlet entitled, *Black Woman's Role in the Revolution*, which included an introduction, and instructions on dress, make-up, hair, smoking, pants, and alcohol intake. In the introduction a Black woman by the name of Alafia argues:

“Images must be formed. Now, not later or tomorrow, is the time for us to get it together; for it should have been done yesterday. We were at one time beautiful black women. But down through the years, as the evil around us took hold, we became what we are now: cold, hard, heartless, loveless, bitter-imitations of the white devil woman. We must resort back to being what are foremothers were.”⁹

Further Alafia states:

“We have no use for white peoples’ morals, we can’t-they have no morals. We must make our own standards and values that black women must live by and take our proper place in our own society...we don’t react different, we still do the same things white women do. We even practice keeping their speech patters. We even think their thoughts. Some sister reading those pamphlet will say and react to it in the same manner as a white woman would-and she’ll have a natural too. None of us raised here in North America were born black, but our main goal has to be toward leaving this and aspiring to becoming Black as Africa.”¹⁰

The writings of these Black women and men create an ideological rift within the various Black Liberation struggles that were taking place all over the United States. One of the responses that this rift generated was an anthology that included the voices of Black women who were “involved in a struggle for liberation.”¹¹

In the preface of the book, *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, Toni Cade Bambara, passionately contends that Black women’s agency and “art, protest, dialogue no longer spring from the impulse to entertain, or to indulge or enlighten the conscience of the enemy; white people, whiteness, or racism; men maleness, or chauvinism: America or imperialism...depending on your viewpoint and your terror.”¹² She emphasizes that Black women’s “energies now seem to be invested in and are in turn derived from a determination to touch and unify.”¹³ Cade’s anthology not only dealt with Black women’s role in Black Liberation movements and white feminist movements, but it also discussed Black women’s agency and the relationship that Black women had to themselves.

After the publication of Cade’s anthology, other Black women’s groups and organizations began forming. Cade’s anthology engendered a stir of sorts, and the overwhelming sentiment from many Black women was that the “complementary” rhetoric needed to be protested and avoided by Black women at all costs. This ideological view was solidified by a pamphlet, *The Black Woman’s Manifesto*¹⁴. Created by the “Third World’s Women’s Alliance”, this pamphlet also divided into various sections discussed poverty, motherhood, birth control, abortion, and gender enslavement as it focused on how these institutions of oppression manifested within Black women’s lives.

“If the potential of the Black woman is mainly as a supportive role for the black man, then the black woman becomes an object to be utilized by another human being. Her potential stagnates and she cannot begin to think in terms of self-determination for herself and all black people. It is not right that her existence should be validated only by the existence of the black man...Role integration encourages a broader mental and emotional growth in black women and men as they share the responsibility of working towards liberation. Neither of them should be relegated to a narrow experience in life. Neither of them should have their potentiality for self-determination controlled and predetermined by the opposite sex. That is a type of slavery that will not deliver us as a people. That is a form of bondage which is an integral part of the racist and capitalist system which black women and black men must work to oppose and overthrow.”¹⁵

PART TWO: NEW HOUSE~ NEW “HOME”: BLACK STUDIES AND BLACK WOMEN’S STUDIES

By the middle of the 1970s, the absence of literature in courses, positive representation in the media, and the overall dehumanization of the Black female experience and life in America created a scientific socio-political body of scholarship (evidenced in published works, journals, conferences and academic departments) that was predicated upon the fact that Black women were the intellectual architects and scholarly contributors to the discipline of Black Studies. By 1974, a group of Black Feminist scholars and activists calling themselves, *The Combahee River Collective*, expressed their disillusionment with the Black Studies and Women’s Studies movements and coincidentally the Black struggle and Women’s liberation movements in the United States. Their “experience on the periphery” as they so eloquently referred to it, made them initiate conversation and protest speech with Black Studies and Women’s Studies programs and departments.

“Black feminist politics [and Black Women’s Studies] have an obvious connection to movements for Black liberation, particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s. Many of us were active in those movements (Civil rights, Black Nationalism, the Black Panthers), and all of our lives were greatly affected and changed by their ideology, their goals, and the tactics used to achieve their goals. It was our experience and disillusionment within these liberation movements, as well as experience on the periphery of the white male left, that led to the need to develop a politic that was antiracist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of Black and white men.”¹⁶

Further elaborating on the idea of Black Women’s Studies, *The Collective* contended that their need to be a “shared belief [within academia] that Black women are inherently valuable, [and] that our liberation is a necessity,”¹⁷ they believed that in order to have this idea become a reality, Black women had to be the builders and gatekeepers of this new discipline Black Women’s Studies.

By the early 1980s this concept became more solidified with the publication of *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies*. The editors Patricia Bell Scott, Gloria T. Hull, and Barbara Smith, attempted to mediate the gender and sex hierarchy that had become commonplace within Black Studies as well as uncover how the “whitening” of various Women’s Studies programs and departments solidified the notion that Black women’s experiences with institutions of oppression was not worthy of academic pursuit.

“Women’s Studies courses...focused almost exclusively upon the lives of white women. Black Studies, which was much too often male-dominated also ignored Black women.... Because of white women’s racism and Black men’s sexism, there was no room in either area for a serious consideration of the lives of Black women. And even when they have considered Black women, white women usually have not had the capacity to analyze racial politics and Black culture, and Black men have remained blind or resistant to the implications of sexual politics in Black women’s lives.”¹⁸

Beverly Guy-Sheftall in *Black Women’s Studies: The Interface of Women’s Studies and Black Studies* made a similar argument as the authors of *Some of Us Are Brave*, in that, Black Women’s Studies needed to be recognized and receive the acknowledgement that without Black women’s noteworthy contributions to both the disciplines of Women Studies and Black Studies, these disciplines would have not made their significant contributions to the academy and institutions of higher learning.

PART THREE: MASTER’S HOUSE~ SERVANTS QUARTERS: WOMEN’S STUDIES AND BLACK WOMEN’S STUDIES

Black women’s experience with mainstream Feminist and Women’s Studies movements was met with the same type of disillusionment and disrespect as had been experienced by Black women during the Black Liberation and Black Studies movements. In her essay, *Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory*, bell hooks very publicly indicts white Feminist Betty Freidan for her famous book, *The Feminine Mystique*. “She made her plight and the plight of white women like herself synonymous with a condition affecting all American women. In so doing, she deflected attention away from her classism, her racism, her sexist attitudes towards the masses of American women.”¹⁹ To hooks’ Freidan’s negation of the Black female experience in her discussion of gender oppression was not only racially hegemonic and saturated with white supremacist undertone, but academically unfounded and nearsighted. Further, hooks reiterates her understanding of what oppression in relation to gender actually means. “The primary point of contact between the oppressed and the oppressor”...Many women in this society do have choices (as inadequate as they are), therefore exploitation and discrimination are words that more accurately describe the lot of women collectively in the United States.”²⁰ Finally, hooks discusses how Black women’s relationship to Black Feminist Theory and Black Women’s Studies is a much more organic process than it is for white feminist’s relationship to Women’s Studies and analyses of gender.

“Frequently, white feminists act as if black women did not know sexist oppression existed until they voiced feminist sentiment. They believe they are providing black women with “the” analysis and “the” program for liberation. They do not understand, cannot even imagine that black women, as well as other groups of women who live daily in oppressive situations, often acquire an awareness of patriarchal politics from their lived experience just as they develop strategies of resistance (even though they may not resist on a sustained or organized basis).”²¹

Patricia Hill Collins, another Black Feminist thinker and writer, in her essay *The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought*, discusses how the Black woman’s literary tradition in America and the Black woman’s political and ideological standpoint has always been a non-complacent and resistant tradition that has sought to tell the world and the academy especially, that the Black female presence in the academy and beyond will not go unnoticed despite the sexism and racism that Black women encounter within its walls. This epistemological stance is divided into two parts that work together to create an ideological symbiosis for Black women.

“The existence of a distinctive black women’s standpoint does not mean that it has been adequately articulated in black feminist thought. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman provide a useful approach to clarifying the relationship between a black women’s standpoint and black feminist thought with the construction that knowledge exists on two levels. The first level includes the everyday, taken-for-granted knowledge shared by members of a given group.”²²

When discussing the second phase of the construction of Black women’s knowledge, Collins states, “the second level of knowledge is a more specialized knowledge that is furnished by experts who are a part of a group and who express the group’s standpoint.”²³ To Collins, these “two levels of knowledge are interdependent; while black feminist thought articulates the taken-for- granted knowledge of African American women, it also encourages all black women to create new self-definitions that validate a black women’s standpoint.”²⁴

Collins takes her discussion of Black Feminist Theory and its attendant Black Women’s Studies a step further than her predecessors, in that, she discusses how an Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology should foster the structure, content, and political ideology of courses that would be implemented in the discipline of Black Women’s Studies.

“As a result of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, apartheid, and other systems of racial domination, blacks share a common experience of oppression. These similarities in material conditions have fostered shared Afrocentric values that permeate the family structure, religious institutions, culture, and community life of blacks in varying parts of Africa, the Caribbean, South America, and North America. This Afrocentric consciousness permeates the shared history of people of African descent through the framework of a distinctive Afrocentric epistemology.”²⁵

Further, Collins states:

“Feminist scholars advance a similar argument. They assert that women share a history of patriarchal oppression through the political economy of the material conditions of sexuality and reproduction. These shared material conditions are thought to transcend divisions among women created by race, social class, religion, sexual orientation, and ethnicity and to form the basis of women’s standpoint with its corresponding feminist consciousness and epistemology.”²⁶

Finally, Collins concludes her argument by contending:

“Since Black women have access to both the Afrocentric and the feminist standpoints, an alternative epistemology used to rearticulate a black women’s standpoint reflects elements of both traditions. The search for the distinguishing features of an alternative epistemology used by African American women reveals that values and ideas that Africanist scholars identify as being characteristically “black” often bear remarkable resemblance to similar ideas claimed by feminist scholars as being characteristically “female”. This similarity suggests that the material conditions of oppression of subordinate groups. Thus, the significance of an Afrocentric feminist epistemology may lie in its enrichment of our understanding of how subordinate groups create knowledge that enables them to resist oppression.”²⁷

To Collins, the Black woman’s standpoint, as well as the Black Feminist literary tradition in the United States is a valid and necessary form of scholarship that is worthy of critique and research. To ensure that this scholarship is taken seriously and engaged seriously within the academy, Collins argues that Black Feminist Theory needs to be the attendant theory to the discipline of Black Women’s Studies.

To Cade, Lynch-their contributors, *The Collective*, hooks, and Collins, Black women's political standpoint should be unique in that we are *unique*, and therefore we experience the world differently from Black males and white females. However, just as Karenga, Baraka, and the Sisters of the B.C.D. did before them, these women were labeled as "race traitors" and their writings were seen as "anti-productive" and "disloyal" to the Black race and insignificant to the discipline of Black Studies. White Feminists also viewed these Black women with suspicion and labeled them as "confrontational", "aggressive", and their work as "anti-productive", inevitably "Black women were being admonished to choose between loyalty to the race and their own liberation agendas."²⁸ Although the conversations surrounding the idea of Black Women's Studies seem to have fallen to the wayside in favor of other debates that have been "more" pertinent to Black Studies, the feverish dialectic remains within the discipline. The specific and spatial need of Black women to find ideological and theoretical empowerment is still felt by many Black women scholars and thinkers in Black Studies. With the rising debates surrounding Black Queer Studies, conversations that were once silenced about Black Women's Studies are again resurfacing to articulate to Black Studies that no one is feeling at "home" in the young discipline.

PART FOUR: THE HOUSE THAT "QUEER" BUILT: THE RISE OF BLACK QUEER STUDIES

"Given the status of women (and class not lagging too far behind) within black studies, it is not surprising that sexuality, and especially homosexuality, became not only a repressed site of study within the field, but also one with which discourse was paradoxically preoccupied, if only to deny and disavow its place in the discursive sphere of black studies."

--E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson, *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, 2006, 4

In recent years, conversations about the idea of Black Queer Studies as a separate discipline have surfaced. Reminiscent of past conversations surrounding Black Women's Studies, the Black Queer Studies movement "some twenty years later than black studies...emerged in the academy as the intellectual counterpart and component of another activist movement, namely that of ACT-UP, an AIDS activist group, and its off-shoot group Queer Nation."²⁹ Originally, before Queer Studies became *Black*, Queer Studies sought to destabilize mainstream and fixed notions of sexuality. In the tradition of many activist disciplines, queer activism within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) community gave birth to its theory-Queer Theory to be exact.

“Through its conception of a wide continuum of sexual possibilities, queer theory stands in direct contrast to the normalizing tendencies of hegemonic sexuality rooted in ideas of static, stable sexual identities and behaviors. In queer theorizing, the sexual subject is understood to be constructed and contained by multiple practices of categorization and regulation that systematically marginalize and oppress those subjects thereby defined as deviant and ‘other’.”³⁰

Although the implementation of Queer Studies within the academy did not happen until the early 1990s, Queer Studies is a growing academic field, whose bridges to their respective community are strong and very much present. The politic and theory are closely tied, and both emphasize that Queer Studies, Queer Theory, and Queer Politics is an “‘in your face’ politics [and theory] of a younger generation. Through action and analysis these individuals seek to make “queer” function as more than just an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered.”³¹

However, Black scholars, students, and activists felt although the discipline of Queer Studies was an action-oriented discipline which rocked a very fundamental and fixed foundation of sociopolitical American fabric, it has been and remains victim to some of the same dichotomies that have plagued traditional disciplines. “As some theorists have noted, the deconstruction of binaries [that happens in queer studies] and the explicit “unmarking” of difference (e.g., gender, race, class, region, able-bodiedness, etc.) have serious implications for those for whom these other differences ‘matter’.”³² For Black scholars in the field, the erasure and/or destabilization of race are not only problematic but very theoretically and politically dangerous. To many of these theorists “blackening” queer studies or “queering” Black Studies would create an “interanimation of these two disciplines-black studies and queer studies whose roots are similarly grounded in social and political activism [and] carries the potential to overcome the myopic theorizing that has too often sabotaged or subverted long-term and mutually liberatory goals.”³³

Just as Black queer theorists can’t find “home” within Queer Studies, Black queer theorists are struggling to find “home” within Black Studies. Just as conversations surrounding Black Women’s Studies were often seen as superfluous in the past, the new emergence of Queer Studies and/or Queer Politics within the discipline of Black Studies has fallen somewhat on deaf ears. The solution for many Black queer theorists has been to seek refuge in Queer Studies departments, just as it has been for many Black women theorists to do the same in many Women’s Studies departments. However, the real conversation that has still not been had is how essential it is for Black Studies to engage theories surrounding women and LGBTQ issues.

PART FIVE: FINDING “HOME” IN BLACK STUDIES

Understandably, the concept of finding “home” in an academic department seems peculiar to many to say the least. But it is this conception alone in some cases that all of these politically orientated disciplines were founded. Black people engaged in a dialectic with the country and the University that Black life, culture, spirituality, and tradition were worthy of academic pursuit. Then, some few years later, Black Studies, interfaces with Black women about their theories and traditions and tell them that they are being “counterproductive” and worst “whitening” the discipline with their conversations about gender and sexism. Currently, Black Studies has created the same type of exchange with Black queer theorists. Telling them to leave their “sexuality at the door” or better yet that “race supersedes sexual orientation” all of which has led Black women and Queer theorists to disavow their allegiance to the discipline and do their “work” elsewhere.

This ideological predicament leaves Black Studies in the position as so many traditional disciplines before it. By metaphorically removing these scholars and their work from the discipline, Black Studies will remain a discipline of “old black men” the same way that traditional disciplines like Sociology or English have become and remain disciplines of “old white men”. The Black Studies movement, which is still young, has the opportunity to create a different tradition, a tradition in which all Black theorists can come to the academic table and take a slice of revolutionary vision pie. By Black Studies opening up its “home” metaphorically and ideologically to Black women theorists and Black queer theorists alike the possibilities for the discipline of Black Studies are endless. Not only will the political power of the discipline remain intact and more grounded in the lived experiences of Black people, but this immersion of “family” will create an academic fluidity where the discipline of Black Studies can actualize its full potential of establishing a space within the white tower of learning that Black liberation is very much alive, present, and a force to be reckoned with.

NOTES

¹ E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson, "Introduction: Queering Black Studies/ "Quaring" Queer Studies," *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (2006): 3.

² Ibid.

³ When I use the word(s) Queer identified or Black Queer identified I am speaking of scholars, students, and activists within academia who identify as either lesbian, gay, bisexual, and or transgendered. My use of the words in these instances speak to how the word "Queer" is used as an umbrella term for LGBT community.

⁴ E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson, "Introduction: Queering Black Studies/ "Quaring" Queer Studies," *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (2006): 3.

⁵ Ibid, 5.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Clyde Halisi and James Mtume, *The Quotable Karenga* (1967): 27.

⁸ Amiri Imamu Baraka, "The Black Woman," *Raise, Race Rays Raze: Essays Since 1965 (1969)*: 148

⁹ The Sisters of the B.C.D., *Black Woman's role in the Revolution* (1969): 5.

¹⁰ Ibid, 7.

¹¹ Toni Cade Bambara, "Preface," *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (1970): 7.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Gayle Lynch, *The Black Woman's Manifesto* (1971): 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983), 272.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (1982): xx-xxi.

¹⁹ bell hooks, "Black Women Shaping Feminist Theory," *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984) 138.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, 140

²² Patricia Hill-Collins, *The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000): 169.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, 171.

²⁶ Ibid, 172.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Johnetta Betsch, Cole & Guy-Sheftall, *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African American Communities* (2003): 94.

²⁹ E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson, "Introduction: Queering Black Studies/ "Quaring" Queer Studies," *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (2006): 5.

³⁰ Cathy Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?," *Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (2006): 23.

³¹ Ibid.

³² E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson, "Introduction: Queering Black Studies/ "Quaring" Queer Studies," *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (2006): 5.

³³ Ibid, 6